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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the number of history books published in England during the 16th century, and attempts to estimate who were the publishers, authors and printers, and intended and actual readers. The main data source for this study was the electronic version of the "English Short Title Catalogue," provided by the Research Libraries Group. All books dealing with history in that period were extracted, and a search was conducted separately on each year. A review of the entire collection of "history books" using content analysis lead to an estimation of what should be considered "chronicles." The study concludes that during the 16th century there was a slow and persistent growth of history literature. Historical events, not the success or downfall of the publishing industry, affected the history publications. "Chronicle" is defined as follows: "a continual practical narration of compiled miscellaneous random and unconnected facts from the most available number of sources in a chronological order in an attempt to picture martial, ecclesiastical, governing and private affairs in an uncritical manner." Appendices include tables and charts for the research and five English history books (and copies of their title pages) of the 16th century located in the Kent State Library. (Contains 34 references.) (AEF)

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THE PUBLICATION OF HISTORY BOOKS IN TUDOR ENGLAND

A Master's Research Paper submitted to the Kent State University School of Library and Information Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Library Science

By

Mikhail Slobodinskii

November, 1999

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Master's Research Paper by

Mikhail Slobodinskii

St. Petersburg State University, 1996

M.L.S., Kent State University, 1999

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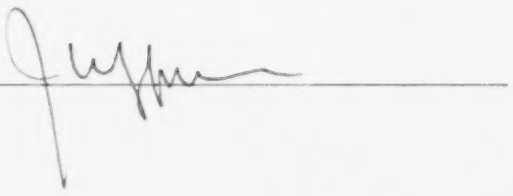
Adviser  Date 11/29/99

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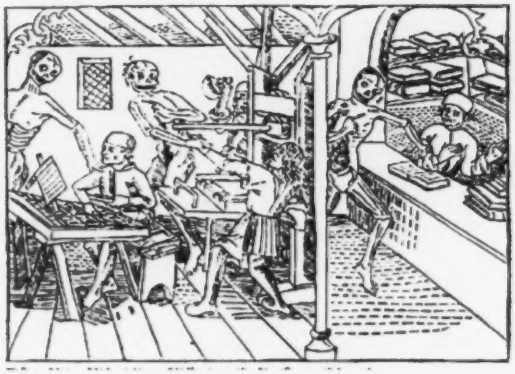

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I. INTRODUCTION

Many studies have been conducted in the history of books in different countries. The same can be said about England. Since William Caxton (c.1422-91) brought the knowledge of printing to England, there was always an interest in the social, cultural, scientific impact of printing on the society in the Renaissance.

Our study of the 16th century English books brought us to an interesting point; we realized that no studies have been conducted on the history of history books in the named period.

A "history book" here (and later) we understand as books containing history information, as defined by Webster's Dictionary (Webster, 1993, p.1073):

> *History – systematic written account comprising a chronological records of events, and usually including a philosophical explanation of the cause and origin of such events.*

This definition needs some comments in regards to our work. We will not use religious texts, like "*The Book of Chronicles*" in the Old Testament of the Bible, and we will separate "chronicles" from all other kinds of history books.

While working with our chosen examples, we will investigate what is a

meaningful definition of *chronicles* and why scholars use this term. As will be discussed later, there is no clear definition of *chronicles*, but almost all authors exploit it. We will try to come forth with a definition.

It is absolutely clear that humanism of that period brought a lot of scientific topics to the interest of contemporaries, and one of them was a revision of human history. As old studies show (*Klotz*, 1938) about 10% of all books published during the Tudor's age were on history subjects. Nevertheless, the subject concerning to printing of history books has rarely been touched.

The purpose of this study is to determine the actual number or percentage of history books published in England during the 16th century. We will try to estimate, who were the people who published these materials; who were the authors and printers; who were the intended readers and who were the actual readers. We will try to revise old statistics on the amount of books published in our research.

Bibliometric studies of the subject should be supported by some actual representation of books in a library. As an example we will take ten books present in the Kent State Library Special Collections, which represent this period. As a good example, we can see that five books from this collection are history books, and four of them with an historical subject, came from the same collector Paul Louis Feiss (*Feiss*, 1975).

It is very hard to believe, but studies on this topic have never been conducted. Moreover, we even found that "there are no very complete statistics on the subject matter of sixteenth-century books" (Levy, 1967, p.202). Therefore, the purpose of our study is to define some terms; identify the range of history books and their distribution; and to describe the circle of people who dealt with history books.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this review we will present the general literature on the subject and then more narrow and specific sources.

Studies of historical issues are always based on primary sources. That's why *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period* (Bibliography, 1959) provides us with a very informative list of books. The results of a 50 year effort by American and English scholars are released in this volume. Organized by different subjects, the Bibliography gives valuable annotations to sources. This organization helps in our research to determine, if some book we found should be considered a history book or not. One should be aware, still, that only those books on Tudor history and concerned with that time are mentioned in this *Bibliography*. In addition, in 1959, when this volume was published, not all editions of English books of the 16th century had been discovered. This Bibliography represents about 6,500 works. Mortimer Levine's bibliography (Levine, 1968) for the same period, though published ten years later, is less accurate, shorter and not as valuable as *Bibliography*.

As an example, we should mention Beer's *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stow* (Beer, 1998). This book, should be a model for our research. It takes one particular historian, and researches all sides of this individual. We would like to study all historians in the same way. This work has special studies on the background of John

Stow (1525-1605), on his relationships and his patrons, his subjects, his importance in society, his publications and their meaning. We can not take this work as our model, however, because it is restricted to one person. Beer's work makes no observations on the historians as a whole. Our objective is broader; we want to find publishing trends in historiography. Still this work will be one of our major sources on the relationships of historians with society, because the author examined very deeply Stow's connections and relationships with other historians, and will provide information about them for our study.

On the other hand, we have a variety of broader sources on Humanism, Tudor history, and science in Tudor's times. One is an excellent work by Antonia McLean *Humanism and the rise of science in Tudor England* (McLean, 1972). This work provides a deep discussion on how humanism in England managed to produce tremendous results in science and society. As the author states: "this book is an attempt to show… how the expansion of knowledge brought about by the invention of printing resulted in an intellectual breakthrough". Chapters related to the impact of printing and humanistic history are very thoughtful and logical, and show the author's knowledge of the necessary philosophy. Unfortunately, (for our study,) McLean is interested more in mathematics, medicine and natural history, and provides only brief and casual information on history as a subject.

There was one study by Klotz (*Klotz*, 1938), which investigated bibliometric proportions of subjects published during the same period. This work focused on the proportions of all subject areas, and one of them being history. But data in the Klotz table are not very representative. Still, we need to remember that when his study was presented, there was only *Pollard* (Pollard, 1926) available for his research.

Unfortunately we can not verify the whole Klotz work, because the table from his original article was reprinted in McLean's work, which has an inaccurate citation to the Klotz work.

Jones in his *Saints' lives and chronicles in early England* (Jones, 1947) examines only chronicles written before 750 A.D. but we need to mention him, because these chronicles were the predecessors for our study and most of the works were published first time in the period of the 16th century. The main interest of the author is in the Venerable Bede's (673-735) works and Bede's *The history of the Chvrch of Englande* is one of the books we selected for our studies was published at 1565 and preserved in our collection. Jones states that all chronicles, *from Hippolytus to Bede were designed as the practical part of a textbook*. Though using different terms such as annals and chronicles, Jones never defines them. Examining chronicles in the chapter "Chronicles" (Jones, pp. 16-31), Jones thinks, that items in the chronicles were selected by a chronologist 1) or by limitations with subjects of previous teachers, who wrote on the same topic, 2) or author selected items, which illustrated the generalization about the time recorded in the theoretical part of the volume. Still another definition can be found: "The basic chronicle was designed to give a view of the world" (Jones, p.18). This book can bring us some very useful information about different subjects in our study. For example, Jones shows that we can easily accept that individuals to whom Bede dedicated his writings represent the audience for whom they are intended (Jones, p.80). But our study should think about new readers, because in Bede's time there was no conception, that one could produce a thousand copies. Besides in Tudor England the publication of Bede had commercial success.

So Jones leads us to a discussion of what is understood as the definition of "*chronicles*". If a chronicle for Jones means something like "historic-chronological books illustrating and supporting theoretical conclusions", what do others define as *chronicles*?

Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English language* (Webster, ed.3, 1993) states:

> *Chronicle (χρονικα - Greek) an historical account of facts or events that are arranged in order of time & usually continuous and detailed but without analysis or interpretation.* (p.402)

To be more specific, many sources differ between the meaning of *annals* and *chronicles*. Harrod's *Librarians' glossary* (Harrod, 1995) notice, that

> *Chronicles. – These differ from annals in being more connected and full though like annals, events are treated in the order of time.* (p.129)

Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science (Encyclopedia, v. 4. 1970, p.660) mentions that chronicles *less consciously interpretive than a general history*. There we can find, what is considered to be annals, which are closely related to chronicles: *a form of writing that strictly deals with court appointments and other events organized on the bases of the calendar year*. Since authors, editors, and publishers do not observe precise distinctions of terms appearing on titles, a list of chronicles may contain some that are entitled chronologies, annals, histories, or even memoirs.

So what do we find in common in all this definitions, that chronicles – uncritical in their narrating of events. "Ancient and medieval chronicles mixed eyewitness reports with information drawn from traditional lore and other written accounts" (Jones, 1947, p.20).

Also we should be careful with understanding the history book definition in the time when our books were published. The volume of articles by specialists in the

historiography in their volume (Kelley, 1997) shows, that there are some sources, which historians appreciate now, because historians can extract a lot of material from these books, which were not originally written as history books, and on the other hand, there are some history books, which contain nothing we can factually verify. We should understand, that in Tudor England history was frequently mixed with literature, and "telling the truth" as stated by Cicero, was not always the main issue. Patterson in her article (Kelley, 1997, 159-178) even shows that anecdotes became inalienable part of any chronicle.

Our primary sources are discussed in the literature, and we should just mention some of their impact in the world. Raphael Holinshed (-1580), [*The Chronicles Of England, Scotland And Ireland*] (pub. 1577, KSU copy 1587.) were used extensively by William Shakespeare (1564-1616) in his plays. The sixteenth century chronicles were certainly influenced by other sources, but they are still unique records of all cultural life of their period. We should remember, that the profile of a historian himself also changed during early printing, because then, instead of spending life in long travels to read some manuscript, historians had an opportunity to have their own reference collection on their desk.

To identify who were the readers of history books is very important in order to understand the impact of these books on society. To address this problem we certainly must examine sources such as Studies in English Printing and Libraries (Oates, 1991). This volume contains articles by a famous author in this field. Studies of use of libraries can say a lot about readers of history material. In his major work Cambridge University Library (Oates, 1986) Oates examined book catalogues, and found that in first catalogue

for that library (1424) there were no books of chronicles at all. A century later several chronicles appeared in that library. In another library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth at least 1421 volumes were reported in year 1526, and among them 65 concerned a history subject (Savage, 1912, p.285). In 1568 Queen Elizabeth started a campaign of collecting historical evidence "which justified the constitutional and doctrinal principles of Elizabeth's Anglican church" (Oates, 1991, p.70). At this time a lot of history books appeared were in publication and also appeared in the Cambridge University library. As an example James Pilkington, bishop of Durham (1520?-1576), donated twenty books on history at that time to Cambridge. We should not overestimate the importance of the library itself, but only understand the tendency of use. The library itself had a very restricted policy. Only 10 persons were permitted to enter library, the books were chained to desks and all mathematical and history books were locked up in as separate room. Officially, even first librarian was appointed in the Cambridge library in 1577 (Oates, 1986).

III. METHODOLOGY

Our main research is to calculate the different percentages of history books to the whole body of published materials in that period. Therefor our main methodology will be based on bibliometric models.

Our main data source for this study was the electronic version of the *English Short Title Catalogue*. It describes works printed in any language in England or its dependencies, as well as works printed in English elsewhere between the years 1473 and 1800. This database updated daily. That is why, to insure the balanced calculations were a rapidly changed amount of records in the database could made a bias representation, we gathered all the data in one day. This database - *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) - is a part of the Research Libraries Group's online bibliographic database (RLIN). The database can be searched online via Eureka. Now the database currently holds about 25000 of the 36000 records in the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England...* (Pollard, 1926)

We extracted all books dealing with history, printed in our period. We conducted a search on each year separately. We used for defining "history book" assigned subject headings of the database itself. A review of the whole collection of history books will help us to estimate using content analysis, what should be considered *chronicles*. To evaluate each book for it's content, we will use *Early English books: 1475-1640* microfilm, the result of a huge project of the filming of full text English books onto microfilm by University Microfilms International in Ann Arbor, Mich.

After we had all necessary results we built tables, which show us the percentage of history books published, the amount of them published in different years, increases and declinations of the interest of the publishing them during our period.

The historical method helped us to connect received data with actual historical events during examined period, the connections between social, political, religious and economical events in Tudor England and sources published during the same time.

The historical method was used also to help us to synthesize results of bibliometric studies on the figures of published material and results of studies about actual events in England, in the way, that we will be able to study the circle of people, involved in the publishing history books.

Examination of history books helped us to define, which parts must be included in the work, the structure of history books, which could be named *chronicles*. This involved an examination of each particular book found, it's content, and research on how other sources consider each of them to be chronicle or not.

As a result we will be able to state definition of a *chronicle*, so other researchers could use this definitions in future studies.

IV. FINDINGS

Historical background of chronicles

Thanks to the kings' patronage, the art of printing was slowly but confidently developing in England. Though "the art" was considered to be one of the worst in Europe (Handover, 1960, p.19), and "there was an entire absence of originality among English printers" (Plomer, 1977, p. 76), still the union of printers became very strong. At first William Faques (- 1508) was a chancellor of the King Henry VII and also a printer, so he got the name the "king's printer", then it became an official title, which was inherited by a row of printers (Pynson, Berthelet, Grafton, Cawood and Wolfe in first half of the 16th century). In 1534 an act was issued that forces foreign printers to sell whole editions un-brochured, so that local printers had a priority in the business. There were a lot of bookstores, most of them near the cemetery of Saint-Paul, but also around London, Oxford, Cambridge and other major cities. Paper producing companies, claiming their existence since 1404, proclaimed themselves the defenders of national interests and they got a charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1557.

Studying of the list of printed books from this period is very informative. One can notice a consistent increase in the usage of English language and English taste, which is one of the basic principals of the Renaissance. Caxton persisted in printing old, beloved books, translations of Virgil, histories from Greek mythology and most important – the works of Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400), John Gower (1330-1408) and cycle of

Arthur's Round Table stories. Publications of legislative acts and laws were absolutely utilitarian, but are extremely important for history of culture and philosophy. But the other characteristic of the epoch and especially of the Renaissance is the interest in history.

Thomas More's (c.1477-1535) "History of the king Richard III" (unfortunately was not attributed to the More until 1557) was written around 1514. Works dealing with contemporary events appeared during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Some of them were used by other writers for updating their chronicles, which raised to the status of important literature, works by such authors as Robert Fabyan (d. 1513), Richard Grafton (d. 1530) and Edward Hall (d. 1614).

Thomas Fabyan, alderman and sheriff of London, wrote the chronicles ending with 1485 and which mostly repeated *The Great Chronicle*, and had some borrowings from Gaguin's *Compendium Super Francorum Gestis* of 1497 (Robert Gaguin, 1433-1501 – French humanist and friend of Erasmus). Fabyan himself called his work "Concordance of Chronicles", but after his death it was published by Richard Pynson (d.1530) in 1516 with a more solid name: *The New Chronicles of England and of France*. When in 1533 John Rastell (d. 1536) published a new edition, it contained continuations until the year 1509. Fabyan, though, did not write those continuations. It was Stow who created that myth so he could get an advantage of the publication, (see Beer, 1998 on this matter). One should mention that Rastell himself had already published in 1529 *Pastyme of the People*, which included a history of different countries including England. Nevertheless, Fabyan was unusual in his attempt to create a book on history, but not a

popular brochure of chronicles, compiled by an "idle gentlemen", the kind which are still popular in our day.

The work by Richard Grafton (d.1572) is not an extraordinary work. It is based on a reprint of Harding's work (Thomas Harding, 1516-1572). But it also contains extrapolations from More's works and also it contains additions by the printer himself.

A chronicle by Edward Hall (d.1614) entitled *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York ... beginnyng at the Tyme of King Henry the Fowerth ... and so successively proceadyng to the Reign of the High and Prudent Prince Kynge Henry the Eight*, starts as a boring reprise of earlier works. Still for the reign of Richard III he utilized work by More, and for the reign of Henry VII he used work by Polydore Vergil (1470-1555). For the times of Henry VIII it already contains a wide number of new works and also the personal knowledge of the author and his own rational spirit. The language of the work is pure and clear, and exposes the self-confident dignity of an Englishman of those days, who already tasted the philosophical influences of the Renaissance.

Other chronicles of those times, ones composed by Earl of Southampton Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624), Henry Machyn (1498?-1563?) and *Two London Chronicles, from the Collections of John Stow* dealing with the history of London, one form 1523 until 1555 and another from 1547 until 1564 were never published until the 19th century. As records concerning facts they are useful for historians today. But precautions are necessary in dealing with times of religious and political changes.

There was an interest to the history of other countries and times. As an example we can refer to an excellent translation, which became an English classic, by Lord John

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Bourchier Berners (c.1466-1533) of Jean Froissart (1333-1400), who was a poet and a court historian. He lived at the courts of different kings, and his work describes mostly weddings, funerals and great battles.

Without any doubt it was considered that historical works teach the art of the life and governing a country. These themes supported each other, when people thought, that "power" in a person is a beautiful thing, and no one could rule the others, until he learns to rule himself. For philosophical thought of Renaissance it opened a wide range of activities.

To focus on chronicles, they were changed very slowly during Tudor England. Perhaps "the most striking fact about any of these chronicles is the amount of random information they contain" (Levy, 1967, p.167). Histories were more popular because of amount of material they provide, rather than for its quality. Holinshed (Appendix B. Holinshed, 1587 v.1) is very impressive with the list of more then 200 sources he provides in the beginning of his work. That's why unimportant facts from the modern point of view were mixed with major events. That's why if several sources tell about the same fact, it is usual practice to implant all these sources in the author's narration.

The printer of Carion's (Johannes Carion, 1499-c.1537) chronicles Walter Lynne says, that he considered to be his obligation to print translations, because "the greatest nombre of youre Maiesties people do not understande other languages, then theyr naturall tounge" (Appendix B. Lanquet, 1550, f.II). "Historyes worthy to be called the bokes of great prynces and lordes" (Appendix B. Lanquet, 1550, f.III) because they show examples from previous times, to teach governors the right and wrong attitude to their position. That's why there should be examples of "princes" and "tirauntes" and also all

sorts of martial affairs, examples of faith, private life and "notable actes." Holy histories were included because they teach the reader to be a Christian and because God always is present. The portrayal of God in chronicles is usually a reaction to humans' previous actions.

The printer of Coopers chronicles (Thomas Cooper, 1517?-1594), printed in 1565, is almost a word by word repetition of the Lynne introduction to Carion's chronicles, emphasizing, that the main interest in this book will be for the royal families (Appendix B. Carion, 1565). Here one should not blame the printer for plagiarism because Cooper just continued Lanquet's (Thomas Lanquet, 1521-1545) chronicles, which were interrupted by his death at age of twenty-four. Both Antonio de Guevara (d. 1545) and his translator also underline the position that knowing the previous rulers acts will help princes to be fathers for their lands and people (Appendix B. Guevara, 1577).

Printers and authors proclaimed their didacticism. Holinshed also insists on simple and clean language: "My speech is plaine, without any rhetoricall show of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to simple truth, than todecking words" (Appendix B. Holinshed, 1587, V.3, p.[3]).

We observed that all the sources available have something in common. All of them try to present some table of content; which was not common use in the 16th century; they also try to provide margins with references to other sources to help people navigate through the text. Usually there is a year imprinted on the margins near the answering description and books are divided into chapters by reigns. Levy explains it with the influence of the lawyers' practice (Levy, 1967, p.170). One sees here the traditions of the manuscript book. Chronicles try to describe events until the last days before their

publication. So Coopers Chronicles printed in 1565 follows historical events until 1564; Fabian's chronicle, printed in 1559 already has comments on Queen Elizabeth; Holinshed's chronicles, printed in 1587 comments on the events of 1586.

To stay loyal to the interests of the public, the author's position and comments were left aside. Usually we will not find the authors attitude to any event, saving us from prejudiced sources.

Bibliometric results of the search on the ESTC

I used the English Short Title Catalog to estimate the proportion of books on history in relationship to all books printed in the sixteen century. The data is based on those books in the ESTC, which contain the word "history" in their subject field. Our numbers will not be the exact ones for several reasons.

Not all the books published have survived, and not all that survived are described in the ESTC. But the ESTC has the most complete catalogue of English books, so that is the source in which we conducted our study. The other reason that our data may be incomplete is that not all the books had their publication date identified. Our research may not be very accurate, because a small amount of published material needs nearly all of the items. However, when we come to the end of the 16th century, our estimations are more precise, because 250 books we have for the year 1570 may represent a total of 750 books. (Sample size is taken from the table in Krijcie, 1970, p. 608)

Chart 1 (Appendix A, Chart 1) shows the number of history books printed during each year and the number of all books printed during the same year. Figures are provided for each year separately. Chart 2 (Appendix A, Chart 2) represents the percentage of

history books to all books published for each year. Charts 3 and 4 (Appendix A, Table 3, Chart 3 and Chart 4) shows the same data, but by increments of five years.

Charts 5 and 6 (Appendix A, Chart 5 and Chart 6) represent data from the Klotz table. To see exact data for each chart we also provide Tables 2, 3 and 4 with numeric data for each chart.

The visual examination of Chart 4 shows, that overall there was a tendency to print more and more books on history within the selected time range. Books on history never hit the threshold of more then 20% of all books published in any 5 year gap, (though the chart 2 shows, that for specific years of 1559, 1562 and 1564 it even reached 30% mark). On the chart 4 we can see, that the first interest in publishing history books appeared between 1510-1520 and then a major increase of interest happened in the 1550s and hit the peak during the early sixties, slightly decreasing in the late seventies, with a new interest in the late eighties.

If one compares our results with those provided by McLean of the Klotz studies (McLean, 1972, Appendix A, Table 4, Charts 5 and 6), then we will see that Klotz's figures are slightly different from ours, but still comparable. (NB: we simplified the Klotz's table, leaving only information, which is related to our topic, ignoring other subjects.) His data suggests a slight increase in 1510, 1570 and 1590. So both Klotz and present studies provide overall the same data.

Table 1. Klotz data

Year	*History books*	*Total books published*
1500	0	46
1510	2	67
1520	3	97
1530	3	147
1540	1	92
1550	4	202
1560	5	149
1570	17	179
1580	11	228
1590	41	266
1600	25	259

Though, if we compare year to year, one could notice, that our research and Klotz's differ slightly in numbers, with the tendency that we have more items classed as a "history book" than Klotz does. The percentage of history titles to all books is really the same. In his table it is not possible to notate the interest in history publications in the late 1510s but one can clearly see the major leap after the seventies.

If we compare Chart 3 and Chart 5 one can also notice, that the amount of history books never declines (except accidental years, which could be traced in the Chart 1). During the first half of the century the amount of history books slightly increases, largely increasing in the seventies and these books were very popular at late eighties.

If we investigate the peaks of publishing for history books, we could possibly explain why the publishing of history books was popular at those specific moments.

The beginning of the 16th century was the time when Humanism started in England. We will leave the reasons for the beginning of humanism aside, noticing only, that people, engaged in this movement "were humanists … more or less incidental," (Carlson, 1993, p.10) because most of them were just making a living and earned some

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money and status by their skills as writers. As a rule they depended on patrons and very often their intended audience was just that patron, on whom their material well-being was based.

By the time Henry VIII became King, humanists realized, that the more people knew their name the more respect they will earn, and would help them to be more independent of the source of earnings. They realized that a printed version instead of a manuscript would reach a wide audience and establish their name. King Henry VII died in 1509, just before our first peak of printing history book happens. Obviously the humanists were the ones who published the history books by their definition (*humanism - ... Devotion to humanities; literary culture*" – (Webster, 1993, p.1100)). Still, the conditions of the printing market overall was not very profitable for a publication of general interest. Caxton printed the first English book on the continent. Latin still was used for writing scholarly works, because they were intended for an overseas market. Thomas More's "Utopia" and Polydore Vergil's "History of England" in 26 volumes were published outside of the British Isles, not to mention the works by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C.-43 B.C) and Publius Terentius Afer , used at schools, which were not published in England till 1535.

Henry VIII encouraged the humanist activity from the first years of his reign. The reason for it was that he was educated by humanists himself, and he was very disposed to humanists. Those who were in favor under the reign of Henry VII were forgotten, and new generation was called to the court: Thomas More (c.1477-1535), Thomas Linacre (1460-1524), Richard Pace (1482?-1536) and others. "By a happy reversal of circumstances, learned men now have the prerogatives which ignoramuses carried off in

the past," wrote Thomas More on one occasion. (Complete Works of St. Thomas More, V.III.2, no 19.104-7, p. 106). At this fruitiness moment appeared the "More circle," where Thomas More, Erasmus Desiderius and their associates were active. During this period Richard Pynson (d. 1530) published Fabyan's Chronicles.

In 1522 the war started. Government tried to raise money for the campaign, and "it was really an unconstitutional tax, for contribution was compulsory, the mechanism of collection was that of taxation, and no one expected repayment" (Williamson, 1967, p.101). It was very hard on the economy, and especially for those, who had money and depended on the court, such as the merchants including printers and booksellers. Here for three consecutive years (1522-1524) we will see that the production of printed material dropped (Appendix A, Charts 1 and 3).

By this time the English market depended a lot on imported books, which were promoted by an Act of Parliament of 1484, and a lot of works were brought from overseas. Major players of the English printing market such as Wynken De Worde, (d. 1534?) produced texts for everyday needs such as the Latin Grammar. In 1523 an Act restricted the activities of foreigners until they were entirely excluded (Handover, 1960, p.23). This restriction supported domestic production of books, but printers were fighting for a wider market, and published other easy-readable material. That's why we notice a slight decrease of history books in charts 2, 4 and 6. But if we turn back to charts 1, 3 and 5, we will understand, that history books were printed in the same number, just printing of other types of books increased faster. And the number of printers increased also. In 1500 there were only five printers in London, but by 1523 there were thirty-three or more printers and booksellers.

About 1525 a stream of proclamations came from the press of the King's Printer, threatening dire penalties against the sellers of seditious books. Here we will see that the percentage of history books will drop down again, because any book on history may contain political matter, which could be considered seditious, and dangerous. But it did not last long, and publishers realized that flattery introduction can protect them a lot.

So after the foreigners were pushed away, printers realized their advantage of printing popular editions such as grammars and after the taxation for wars failed, we see that in the next ten years a lot of material was published. Still it did not affect a lot history publications, which were published with the usual slow growth.

The King was fighting the clergy and going through great trouble to marry a fruitful woman instead of sickly Catherine of Aragon. The King announcing supremacy of himself over the church. In 1535 the first English Bible appeared. The next year the so called Black Book terrorized monasteries. Personal terror started, with Henry as an author and Thomas Cromwell (Earl of Essex, c.1485-1540) as an excellent executor of Henry's will. First the Nun of Kent was executed, then John Fisher (1469-1535) and others followed and the last was Sir Thomas More. In the end of the decade Cromwell was executed. By a Proclamation in 1538 all books had to be licensed as being fit to the royal interest before they were published. The government tried to eliminate sources of sedition, and printers and booksellers were interested in elimination of the sources of competition. Six Articles followed in 1539 trying to "abolish diversity of opinions". All these factors hampered for several years book production and certainly the history titles. One can see it especially at Charts 3 and 5.

Then a successful war with France followed, and that returned some money to the country, and finally the death of Henry VIII occurred in 1547. The reigns of King Edward VI (1547-1553) and Queen Mary (1553-1558) followed. The middle of the Tudor period, from 1540 till 1570, was "a time of continuous economic unbalance leading to social crisis and weakness of government" (Williamson, 1967, p.191). But amazingly, when there was chaos in governing the country, the publication of all books doubled in one year after the death of Henry VIII in 1547 from 100 books to 200 approximately (Table 2, Chart 1, Chart 5). It would not be so rapid if there had been no decline in printing during the previous ten years, so we may suggest that printers already had material ready to print. Immediately after the Henry's death Somerset (real name: Edward Seymour, 1500-1552) was appointed the Protector of England, and repealed all possible laws of persecution of religion and political liberty. Tyranny was dead, and new books flooded the market.

During the years 1551 and 1552 there was a notable decline in printing, then with Queen Mary again success, and at the end of her rule a decline again. It happened after Somerset was pushed away from his place and new cruel laws were enacted. In the year 1552 Warwick executed Somerset. Another factor was the great rate of inflation, which was ready to ruin the economy, which once again was supported with big taxation. Here we see that publication of books dropped dramatically and publication of history books in 1552 was close to zero, as it happened before only in the early 20ties.

During the time of Queen Mary, when she gave some liberation to her people, books overall were again published in great amount; but by the end of her reign more prosecutions were carried out, and England once more had fallen into another war. That

explains the immediate decay of the publishing industry, especially history books. But these were historical events, and we can not blame Mary for that. As her epitaph says: "She meant well."

In the second half of the century we can notice the rapid increase of printing books overall. It happened at the same time when a charter was granted to the Stationers' Company in 1557. Queen Mary gave to the Company the right to publish licensed books and to search for imported and unlicensed literature. But the main idea, why Queen Mary issued this charter was not for the interests of the printers, but rather she wished to keep the printing trade under closer control. As Arber pointed out, the charter "rather confirmed existing customs than erected fresh powers" (Plomer, 1977, p.82).

When Queen Elizabeth came in 1558, the following decade was preoccupied with politics. The Queen was static and had no intention of prosecuting anybody, and liberated all Englishmen, and the number of history works immediately increased. The only short recession we can notice at the year since 1563 to 1567, when there was an economic crisis. The only limitation came after six years on the throne, Queen Elizabeth, together with Star Chamber issued a decree, requiring that "no books were to be printed or imported without the sanction of a Special Commission of Ecclesiastical Authorities" under a penalty of imprisonment (Plomer, 1977, p.97). This showed immediately a drop of about 40 percent of all publications and history books about the same, but everything was restored very soon to the status quo. For the next forty years she did nothing to frighten printers, so since that moment we see the instant increase of publishing until the end of the century. Overall the nation grew and changed, economically and progress rapidly increased the national strength. Now all publications could be more profitable,

people would have more money to spend on books, and people became more literate, so in the next 30 years the number of books being published doubled.

Another external event helped to develop the English print market: in 1559 Paul IV drew up the Roman Catholic *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. There were no international copyright laws or any other means by which a printer in one country could prevent printers in other countries from running off editions of a book: copyrights or patents or privileges were at that time only valid for the country in which they were issued. (Woodfield, 1973, p.8). English craftsmen immediately started using that Index for their own prosperity and began selling prohibited works on the European market.

In 1563 John Day (1522-1584) published the first edition of *Acts and Monuments of these latter and erilous days...* better known as Foxe's *Book of Martyres*, as Williamson calls it: "the history of the Protestants" (Williamson, 1967, p. 269). This was an enormous folio volume of some two thousand pages and it was even mentioned on the Day's epitaph.

Queen Elizabeth in 1568 started a campaign of collecting historical evidence, which justified the constitutional and doctrinal principles of Elizabeth's Anglican Church (Oats, 1991, p. 70). It was just at the time that we have another peak of activities devoted to the printing of history works. So the previous several years of crisis were removed and the number of publications increased in two years overall into double the amount, and the amount of history titles published was even four times greater.

Each prominent printer had something to ad in history publications. As an example John Day in 1574 published John Caius' (1510-1573) writings on the history

of the two Universities and the same year Henry Bynneman (d. 1584) published *Historia Brevis*.

Privileges, (Act of 1557, see above) were supposed to secure the copyright of the printer to any published book. The more the book was interesting to the public, the more interest in copyrighting the particular item printers had. Very soon printers understood that it would be much more to their advantage if they could obtain a privilege for a whole class of the books such as law books, catechisms and so forth. Henry Bynneman realized the same, and in 1580 he secured a privilege for the printing "all dictionaries in all tongues, all chronicles and histories whatsoever". He published about 80 works. (Handover, 1960, p.30). Many of his publications never saw a second edition, and Bynneman mostly produced dictionaries. But he secured the privilege, and so until the eighties other printers could not publish history books. This privilege was the only one Bynneman could obtain, "and not a particularly valuable one, since it demanded a large capital to exercise it without the promise of rich returns" Clair commented (Clair, 1966, p.84). Christopher Barker (1529-1599) in 1582 in his report said that Bynneman's patent placed him "in more daunger to be undone then likely to gayne" (Clair, 1966, p.101). But Bynneman printed one great history work known as Holinshed's Chronicles, which came out in 1577. This first edition secured for Bynneman a second and enlarged edition, which appeared in 1587. Unfortunately it was not him, but Henry Denham (d. 1589), who took the press after Bynnneman's death at 1583. Later Short took over Denham's business and completed Foxe's Book of Martyrs in 1597.

Between 1578 and 1581 Elizabeth hoped to marry the French Duc d'Alencon. This raised a storm of protests in England and as a result the "*Act against seditious words*

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and rumors," sometimes referred to as the "Statute of Silence," was introduced by the Lords in January 1581. It specified "a scale of increasingly gruesome penalties, from loss of one ear for spreading rumors, to capital punishment for seditious publication" (Patterson, 1984, p. 26).

The other major factor was the decree from the Star Chamber in 1586 – *The Newe Decrees of the Stare Chamber for orders in Printing*, which regulated that the number of master and presses should be limited, but entry and seizure to the Stationers' Company enforced. It helped Government regulate the print market, and printers to secure their copies. All printing was restricted to London and the two Universities. The archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were to decide how many presses are sufficient for England. But it was not a restriction at all for those, who were in business, because they knew the ways around, working for each other as joined ventures. The rise of economics was amazingly supported in 1588, when the English victory ruined the Armada. This is the time, when patriot printers managed to publish the largest number of history books both in percentage and in amount. This historical event in English history produced a great soil for English history publications. That was a great time of history publications, because "the condition of England, the good order, spirit, and confidence of the people improved" in the last decade of the century (Williamson, 1967, p. 414).

V. CONCLUSION

During the 16th century there was a slow and persistent growth of history literature. But the real interest in history literature happened only during Elizabeth's reign. "One obvious reason for the slowness of development was the general disquiet of the times" (Levy, 1967, p. 203) explains Levy the reason, why there was lack of history books in the first half of the century. "Before 1520 there had been no clandestine printing in England, for the simple reason that there had been no constraints or restrictions to avoid" (Loades, 1991, p.109). Restrictions appeared then and even illicit presses became popular (see Woodfield, 1973). And through our study we see, that not the success or downfall of publishing industry affected the history publications, but historical events. During wars and political prosecution we can see instant decrees of printing history books, but the amount of all books printed depended more on economical and ecclesiastical events than history publications did. The only observation we can see connected with the changes on the throne is that when new King or Queen came, the amount of books was immediately increased, and in four or five years declined again, usually together with prosecutions of the reaction, but the decrease of history publications lagging behind for about a year or two.

The list of published material shows that only by the end of the century the great Roman historians were published, and it is based on obvious interest of the society in history at all. By the year 1558 influence of humanism, necessity of dealing with foreign countries in wars, the new trade markets with Persia, Russia, China, America, Puritans

ethical interest in education, needs for Protestants illegitimate prove, all this together enforced a rapid increase of history publications both in numbers and in percentage rate. History books served for princes to learn virtue, and for others to be obedient of Fortune. Chronicles were the best representations of history books in that century and they were so valuable, that they were most likely to be preserved by people, then any other publications. That is why we have a good representation of them in Kent State Library, and so many copies are known around the world.

Finally after the conducted study as a definition of chronicles I would suggest:

Chronicle – a continual practical narration of compiled miscellaneous random and unconnected facts from the most available number of sources in a chronological order in an attempt to picture martial, ecclesiastical, governing and private affairs in an uncritical manner.

APPENDIX A.

Tables and charts for the research.

Table 2 – Numeric data on the production of printed material during the 16th century in England

Chart 1 – Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published during the 16th century in England

Chart 2 – Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published during the 16th century in England

Table 3 – Numeric data on the production of printed material accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century during the 16th century in England

Chart 3 – Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century in England

Chart 4 – Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century in England

Table 4 – Numeric data on the production of printed material for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938.

Chart 5 – Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938

Chart 6 – Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938

Table 2. Numeric data on the production of printed material during the 16th century in England

Year	history books	all books	All books - history
1501	0	12	12
1502	1	32	31
1503	0	24	24
1504	3	19	16
1505	0	46	46
1506	1	29	28
1507	1	25	24
1508	0	45	45
1509	2	50	48
1510	3	73	70
1511	2	35	33
1512	2	30	28
1513	6	32	26
1514	1	29	28
1515	4	50	46
1516	3	37	34
1517	2	56	54
1518	3	51	48
1519	3	44	41
1520	4	80	76
1521	1	64	63
1522	1	36	35
1523	2	52	50
1524	2	30	28
1525	4	78	74
1526	1	68	67
1527	3	78	75
1528	7	90	83
1529	3	58	55
1530	4	111	107
1531	2	84	82
1532	10	81	71
1533	5	91	86
1534	4	91	87
1535	5	92	87
1536	4	58	54
1537	2	63	61
1538	6	95	89
1539	7	69	62
1540	4	97	93
1541	4	51	47
1542	14	86	72
1543	11	98	87
1544	8	88	80
1545	4	99	95
1546	8	102	94
1547	13	110	97

Year	history books	all books	All books - history
1548	13	221	208
1549	15	140	125
1550	9	190	181
1551	14	107	93
1552	1	92	91
1553	17	132	115
1554	18	110	92
1555	18	158	140
1556	16	143	127
1557	8	80	72
1558	19	88	69
1559	26	95	69
1560	23	134	111
1561	14	103	89
1562	36	135	99
1563	16	108	92
1564	20	70	50
1665	16	130	114
1566	11	153	142
1567	7	116	109
1568	10	102	92
1569	31	132	101
1570	38	210	172
1571	15	126	111
1572	21	154	133
1573	25	152	127
1574	17	160	143
1575	21	192	171
1576	14	144	130
1577	13	167	154
1578	21	179	158
1579	24	211	187
1580	15	251	236
1581	15	235	220
1582	20	179	159
1583	15	197	182
1584	17	228	211
1585	32	239	207
1586	18	185	167
1587	26	200	174
1588	35	214	179
1589	44	251	207
1590	37	283	246
1591	35	268	233
1592	25	246	221
1593	15	185	170
1594	15	212	197
1595	28	270	242
1596	25	262	237
1597	23	237	214
1598	20	247	227
1599	26	267	241
1600	26	317	291

Chart 1. Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published during the 16th century in England

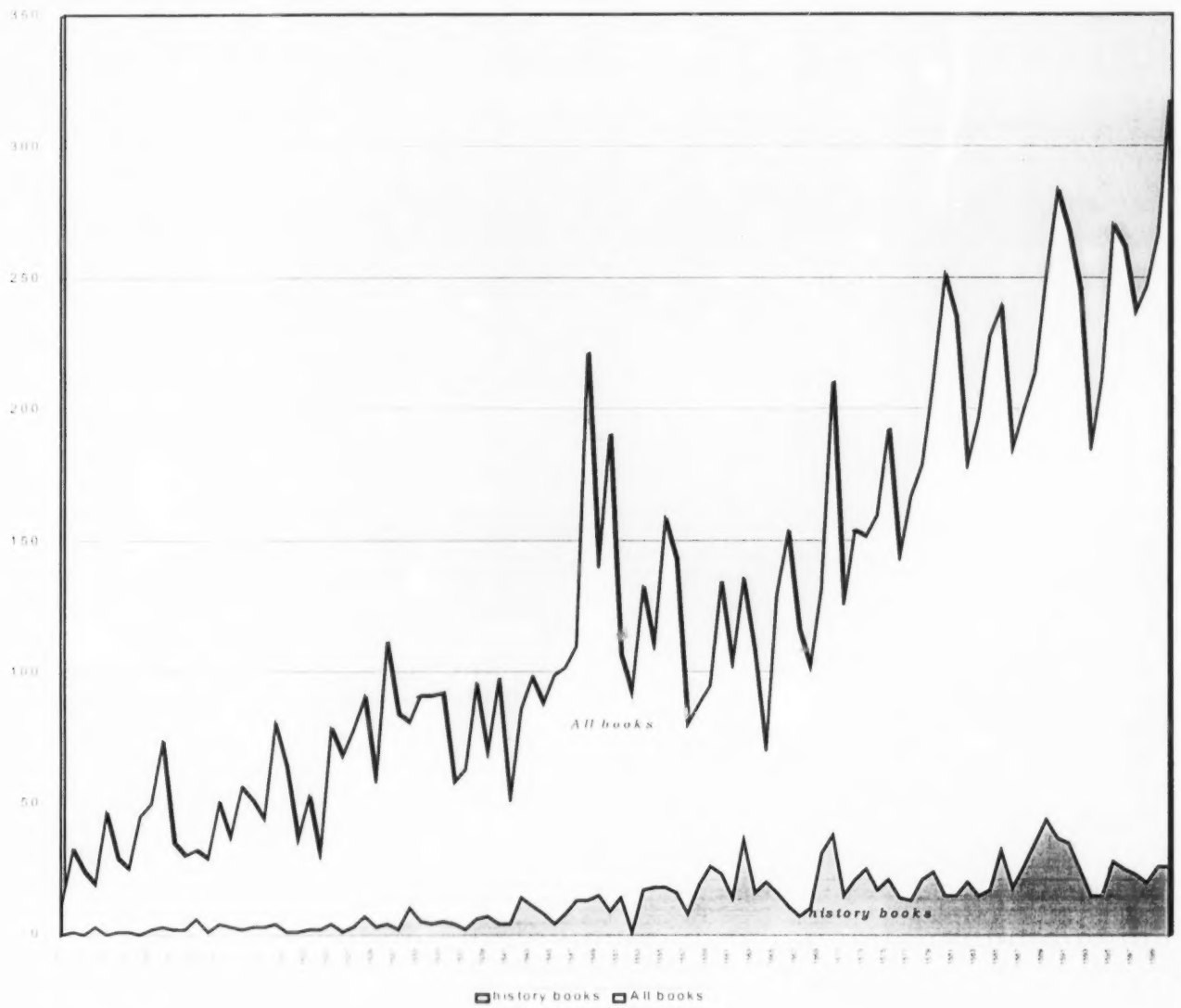

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Chart 2. Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published during the 16th century in England

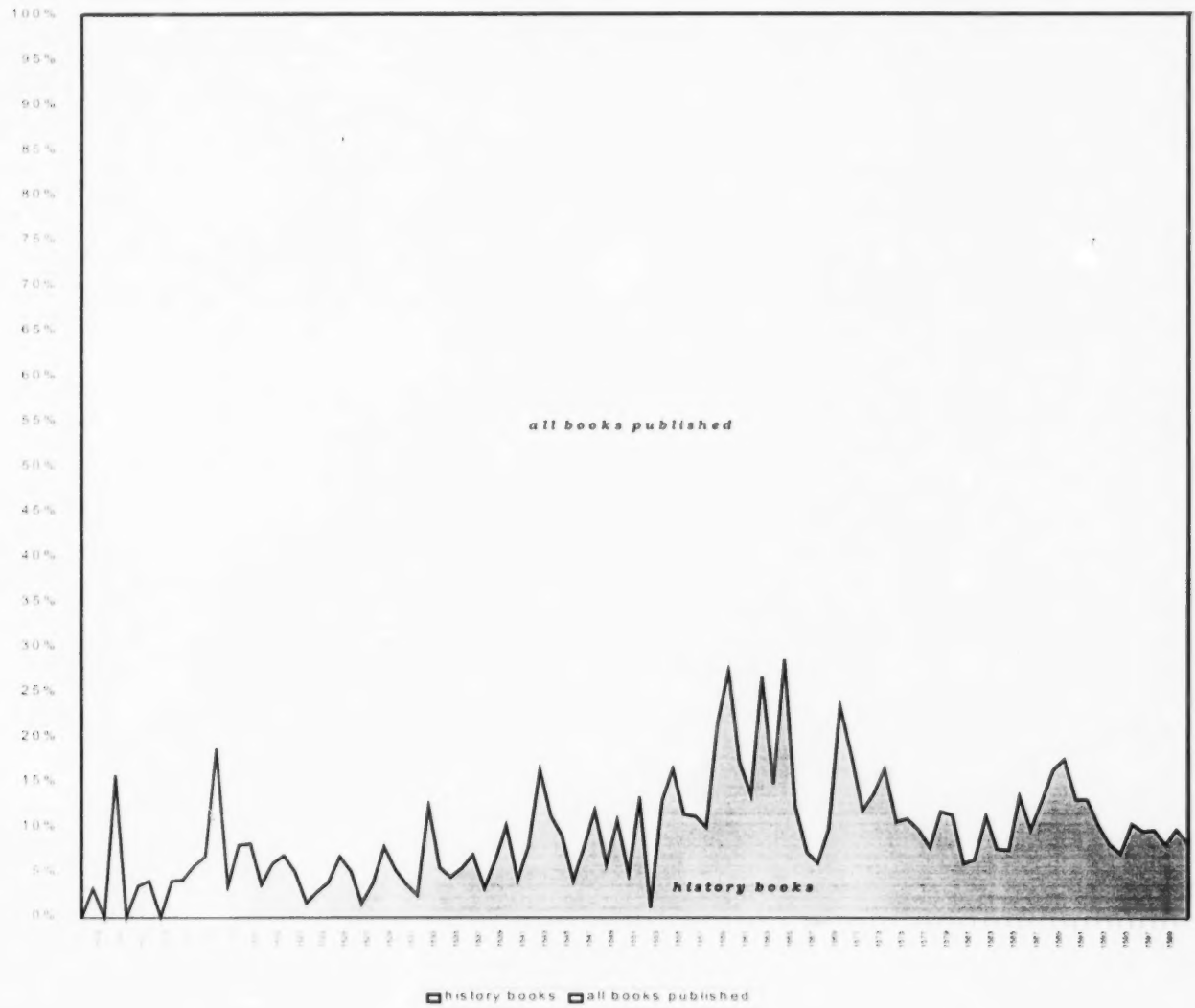

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Table 3. Numeric data on the production of printed material accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century during the 16th century in England

year	All Books Printed	History Books	All Books - History books
1501-1505	132	4	129
1506-1510	222	7	215
1511-1515	176	15	161
1516-1520	268	15	253
1521-1525	260	10	250
1526-1530	405	18	387
1531-1535	439	26	413
1536-1540	382	23	359
1541-1545	422	41	381
1546-1550	763	58	705
1551-1555	599	68	531
1556-1560	540	92	448
1561-1565	546	102	444
1566-1570	713	97	616
1571-1575	632	99	533
1576-1580	952	87	865
1581-1585	1078	99	979
1586-1590	1133	160	973
1591-1595	1181	118	1063
1596-1600	1330	120	1210

Chart 3. Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century in England

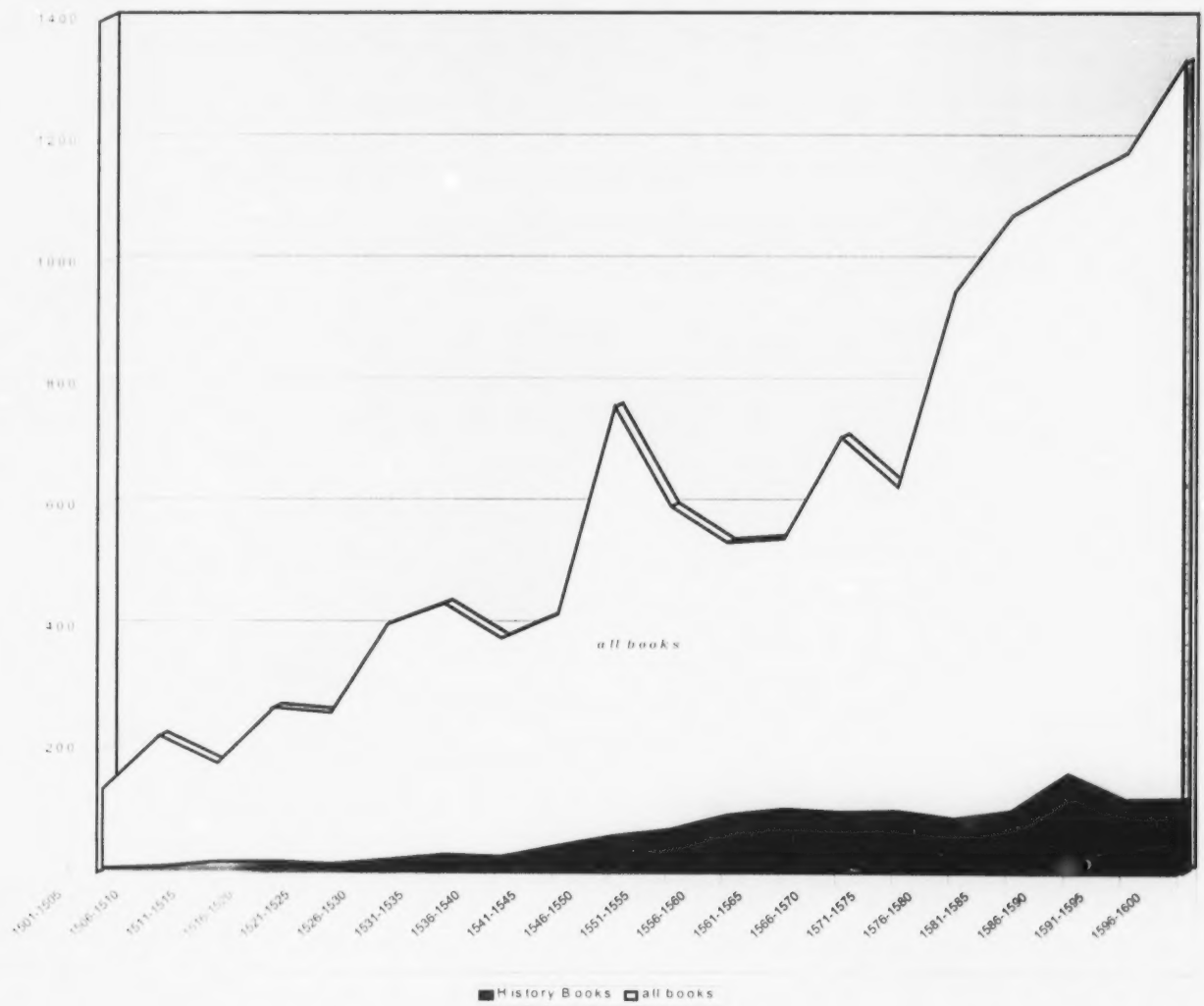

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Chart 4. Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published accumulated for each 5 years of the 16th century in England

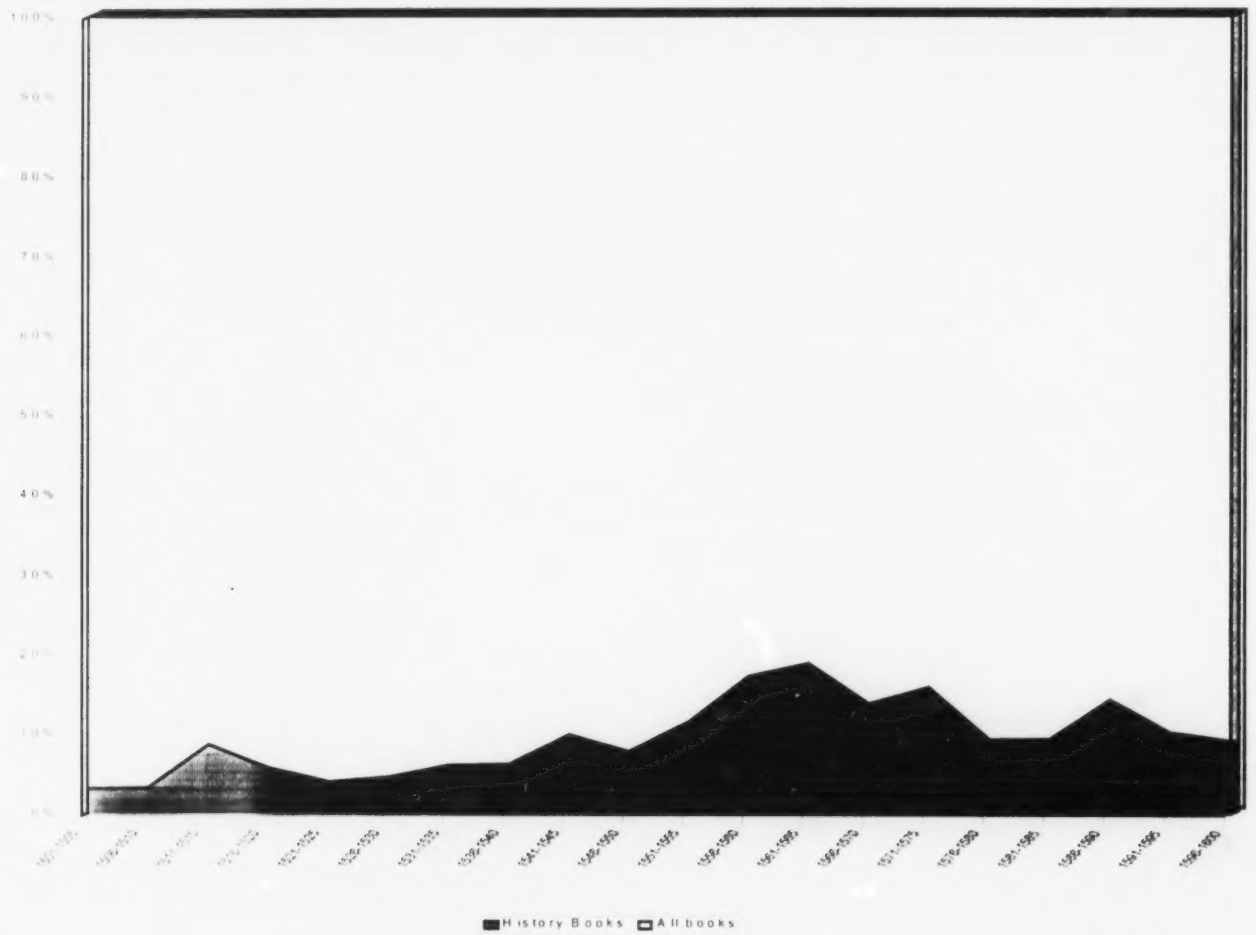


Table 4. Numeric data on the production of printed material for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938

year	books printed	history books	books without history books
1500	46	0	46
1510	67	2	65
1520	97	3	94
1530	147	3	144
1540	92	1	91
1550	202	4	198
1560	149	5	145
1570	179	17	162
1580	228	11	217
1590	266	41	225
1600	259	25	234

Chart 5. Graphical representation of the number of all books and history books published for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938

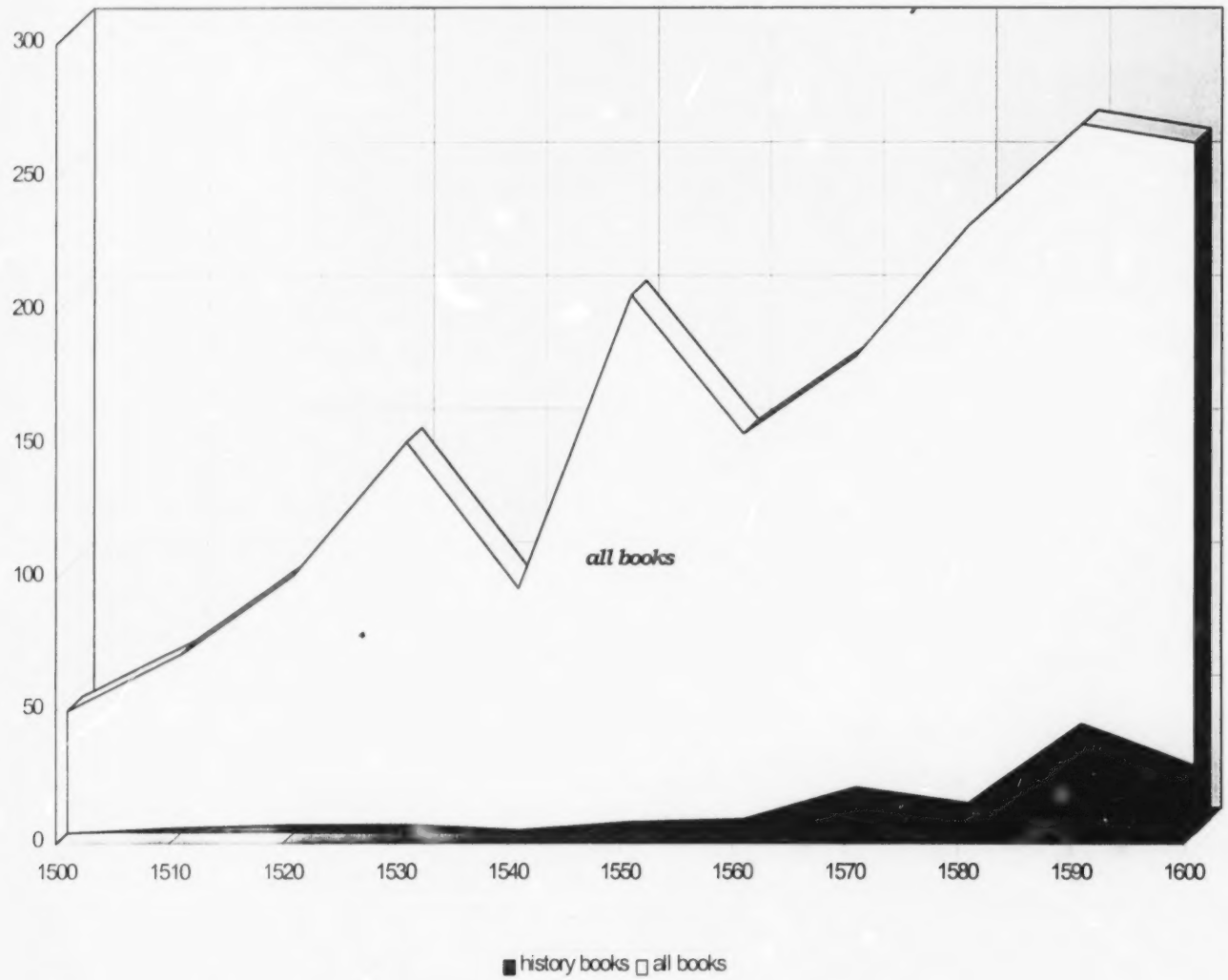
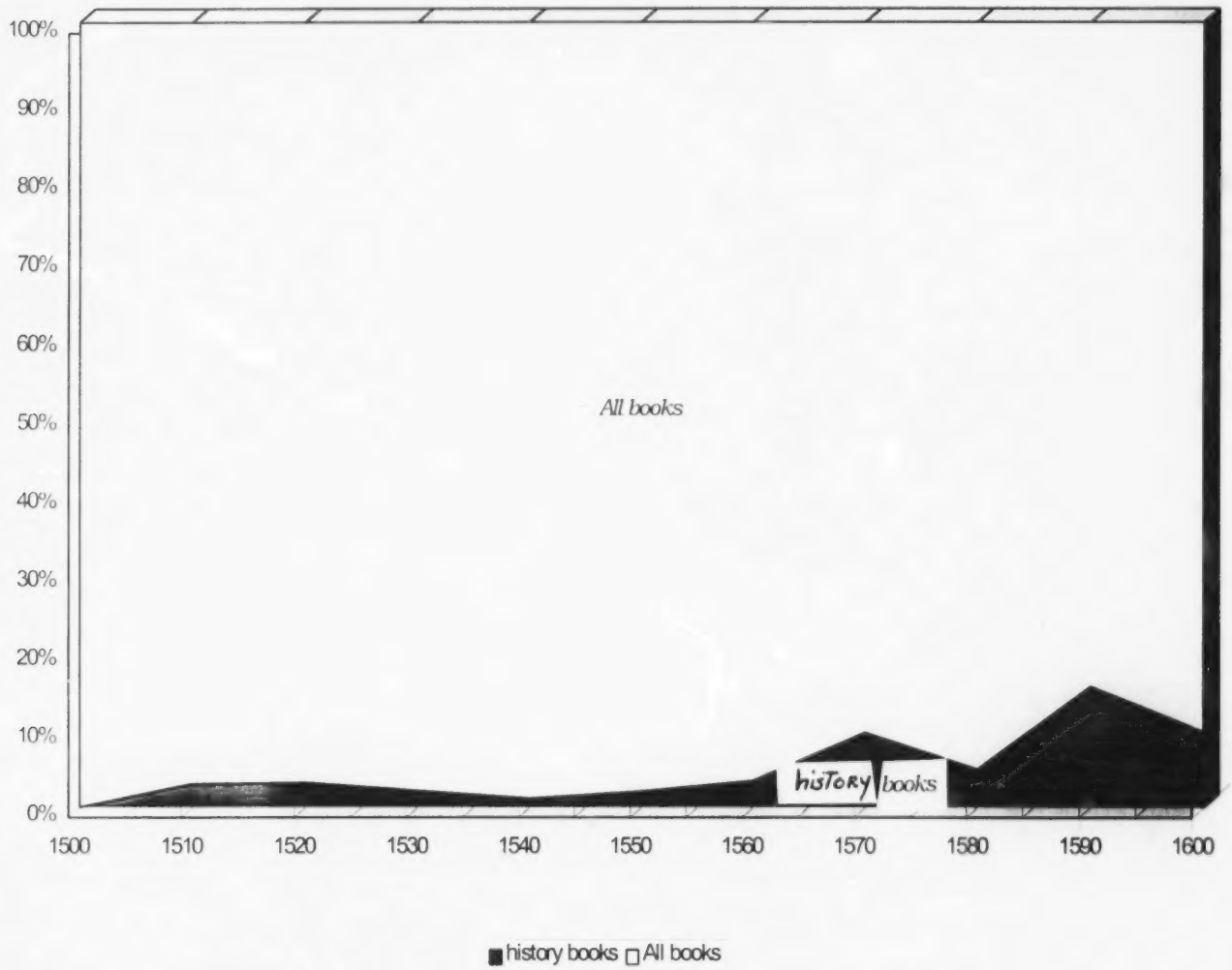


Chart 6. Graphical representation of the percentage ratio of history books to all books published for each 10th year of the 16th century in England provided by Klotz, 1938



APPENDIX B

English history books of the sixteenth century located in the Kent State Library and their title pages

English history books of the sixteenth century located in the Kent State Library

1) Carion, Johannes, 1499-1537 or 1538

The thre bokes of cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the mathematycall sciences) gathered wyth great diligence of the beste authours that haue written in Hebrue, Greke or Latine. Wherunto is added an appendix, conteynyng all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to haue chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ, 1532 to thys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nurenborough, whyche was never afore prynted in Englysh. -- [London, Printed for G. Walter Lynne, 1550]

KSU Call No: D18 .C27 1550

2) Fabyan, Robert, d. 1513

The chronicle of Fabian, whiche he nameth The concordaunce of histories, newly perused. And continued from the beginnyng of Kyng Henry the Seuenth, to thende of Queene Mary. 1559. mense aprilis. - London, Jhon Kyngston [1559]

KSU Call No.: DA130 .F12 1559

3) Guevara, Antonio de, Bp., d.1545

A chronicle, conteyning the liues of tenne emperours of Rome, wherin are discouered, their beginnings, proceedings, and endings, worthie to be read, marked, and remembered. Wherein are also conteyned lawes of specialle profile and policie, sentences of singular shortnesse and sweetenesse, orations of great grauitie and wisedome, letters of rare learning and eloquence, examples of vices carefully to be auoyded, and notable paternes of vertue fruitfull to be followed / compiled by the most famous Syr Anthonie of Guevara, Bishop of Mandonnedo. - London : Ralphe Newberrie, 1577

KSU Call No. DE86 .G8

4) Holinshed, Raphael, d. 1580?

The first and second volumes of Chronicles, comprising 1 The description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland, 3 The description and historie of Scotland: first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent. and others. With conuenient tables at the end of these volumes. - [London] : Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas VVoodcocke. At London printed [by Henry Denham] in Aldersgate street at the signe of the Starre, [1587]

KSU Call No.: DA130 .H732

5) Lanquet, Thomas, 1521-1545

Coopers chronicle conteynge the vvhole discourse of the histories as well as thys realme as all other countreis. With the succession of theyr kynges, the tyne of theyr raign, and what notable actes were done by the newely enlarged and augmented, as well in the first parte wyth divers profitable histories. As in the latter ende wyth the whole summe of those thynges that Paulus Jouius and Sleigdane hat written of late yers that is mow lately ouerfene and with great dilligence corrected and augmented vnto the .vii yere of the raigne of our most gracious Quene Elizabeth that nowe is ... - [London] Anno, 1565, the first day of Auguste

KSU Call No.: D18 .L292 1565

The thre bokes of

Cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the Mathematycall sciences) Gathered wyth great diligence of the beste Authours that haue written in Hebrue, Greke or Latine.

Wherunto is added an Appendix, conteynyng all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to haue chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Chryst. 1532. To thys present yeare of. 1550.

Gathered by John Funcke of Nurenborough.

¶ Whyche was neuer afore prynted in Englyth.

Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Figure 2. Title page of *Chronicles* by Johannes Carion, 1550

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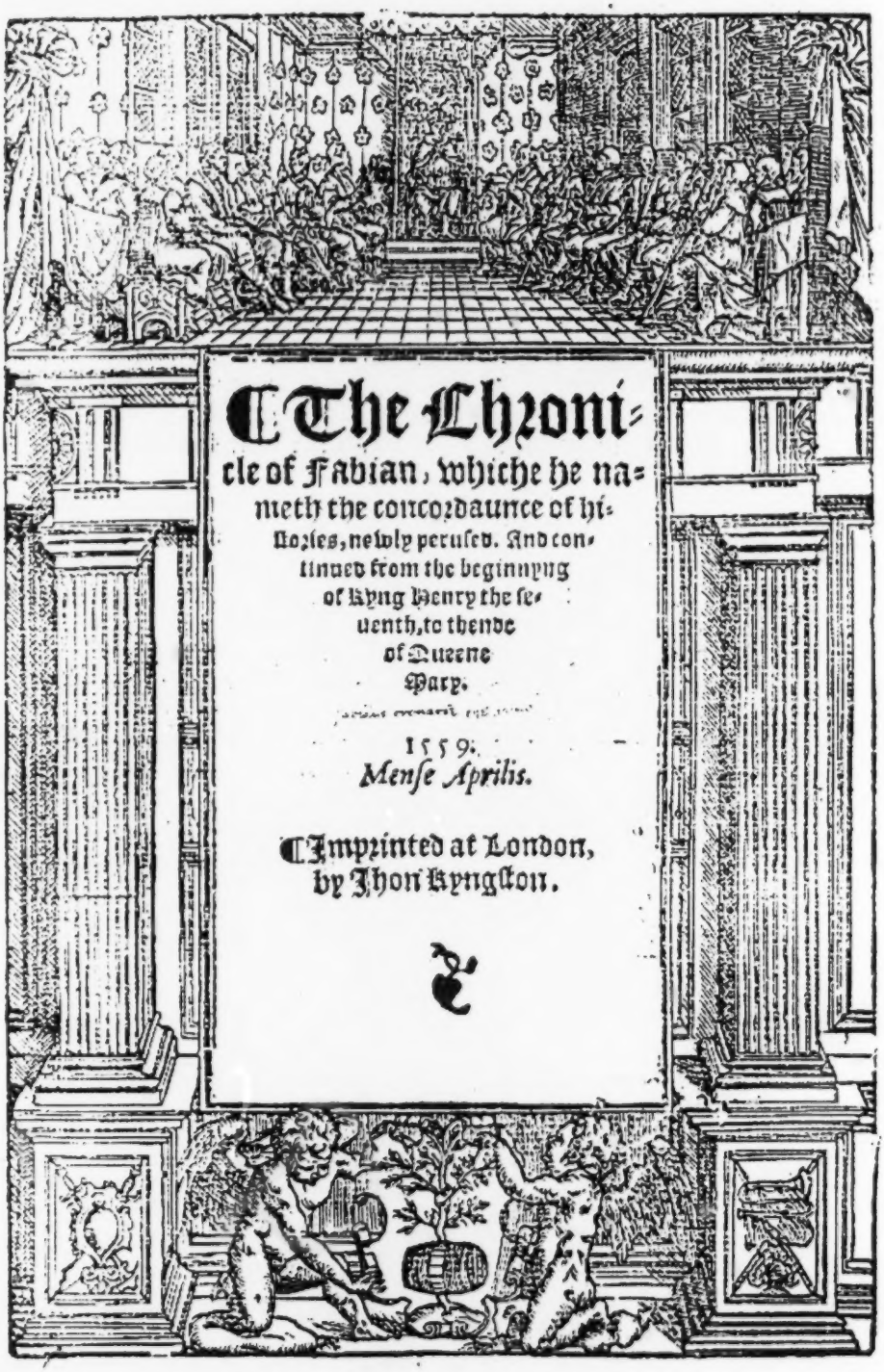

Figure 3. Title page of *Chronicle* by Robert Fabyan, 1559

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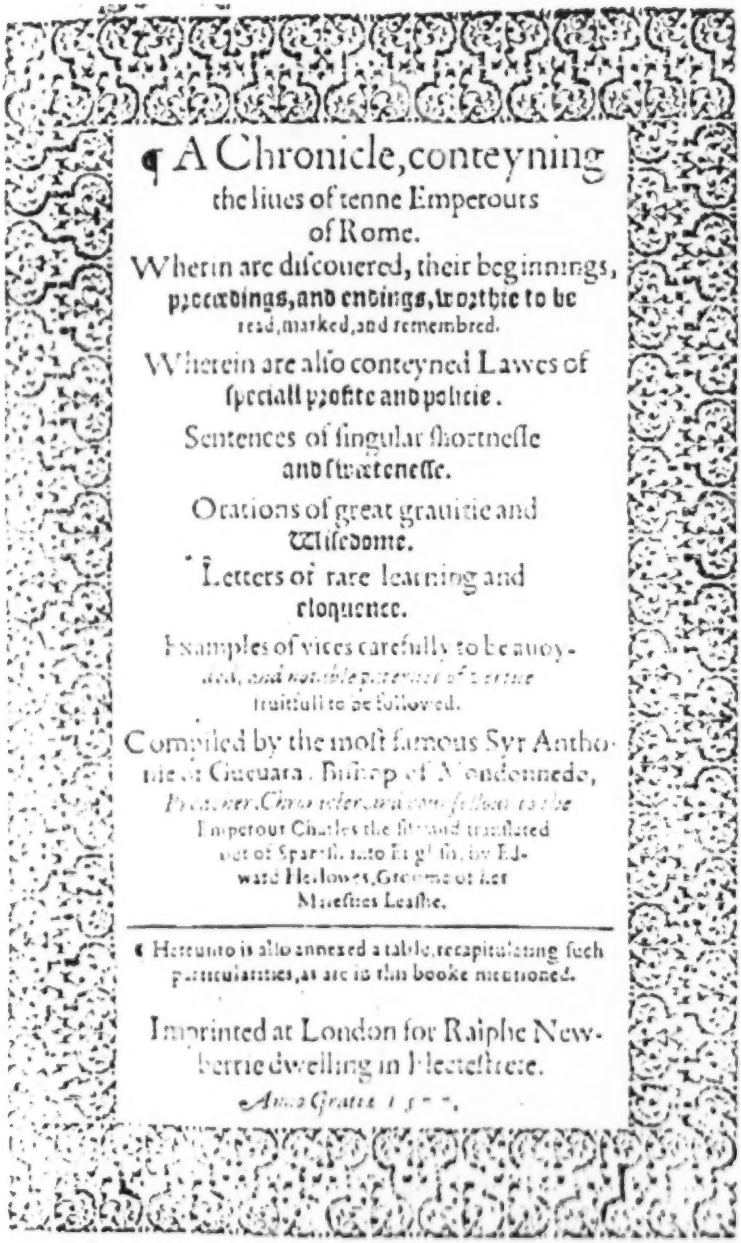

¶ A Chronicle, conteyning
the liues of tenne Emperours
of Rome.
Wherin are discouered, their beginnings,
proceedings, and endings, worthie to be
read, marked, and remembred.
Wherein are also conteyned Lawes of
speciall profite and policie.
Sentences of singular shortnesse
and swarteneſſe.
Orations of great grauitie and
Wisedome.
Letters of rare learning and
eloquence.
Examples of vices carefully to be auoy-
ded, and notable patternes of vertue
fruitfull to be followed.
Compiled by the most famous Syr Antho-
nie of Guevara, Bishop of Mondonnedo,
Preacher, Chronicler, and counsellor to the
Emperour Charles the fift: and translated
out of Spanish into English, by Ed-
ward Hellowes, Groome of her
Maiesties Leashe.

¶ Hereunto is also annexed a table, recapitulating such
particularities, as are in this booke mentioned.

Imprinted at London for Raiphe New-
berrie dwelling in Fleetestreete.
Anno Gratiæ 1577.

Figure 4. Title page of *Chronicle* by Antonio Guevara, 1577

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THE
First and second
volumes of Chronicles,
comprising
1 The description and hystorie of England,
2 The description and hystorie of Ireland,
3 The description and hystorie of Scotland:
First collected and published by Raphael
Holinshed, William Harrison,
and others:
Now newlie augmented and continued
(vvith manie notable matters of singular
note and worthie memorie)
to the yeare 1586. by
and others.
With conuenient tables at
the end of these
volumes.
Historia placeant, nobilemus ac peregrina

Figure 5. Title page of *Chronicle* by Raphael Holinshed, 1587, v.1-2

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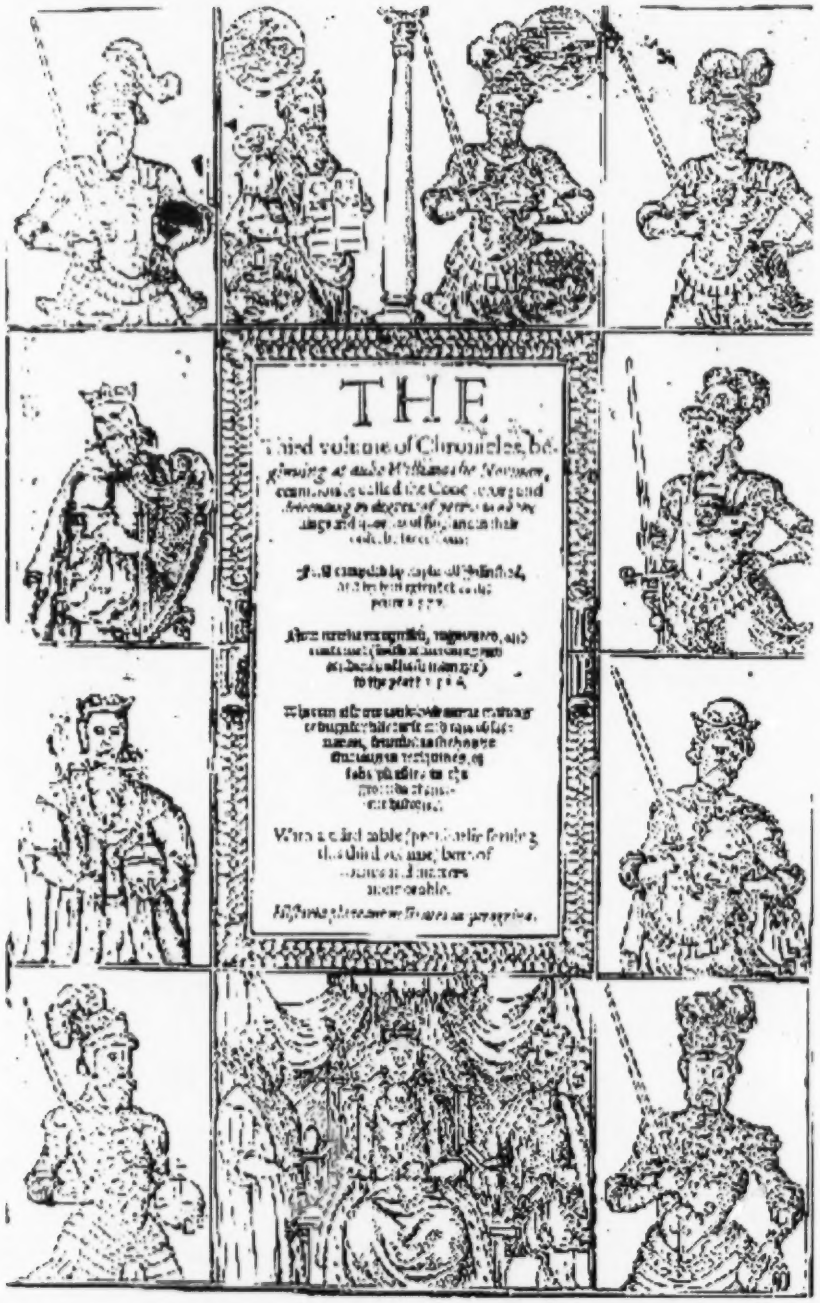

Figure 6. Title page of *Chronicle* by Raphael Holinshed, 1587, v.3

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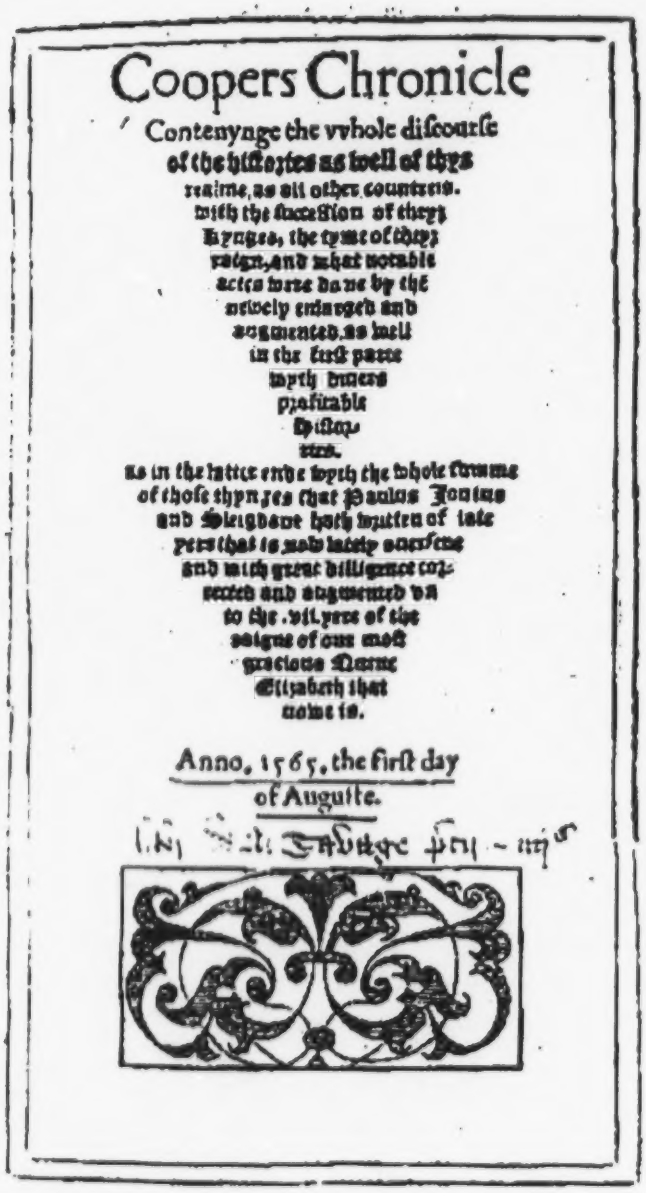

Coopers Chronicle

Contenynge the vvhole diſcourſe
of the hiſtoryes as well of thys
realme, as all other countreys.
with the ſucceſſion of theyr
Kynges, the tyme of theyr
reigne, and what notable
actes were done by the
newely enlarged and
augmented as well
in the firſt parte
wyth diuers
profitable
Hiſtor-
yes.
as in the latter ende wyth the whole ſtumme
of thoſe thynges that Paulus Iouius
and Sleydane hath written of late
yeres that is nowe lately ouerſene
and with great diligence cor-
rected and augmented vn
to the .vii. yere of the
reigne of our moſt
gracious Lorde
Elizabeth that
nowe is.

Anno, 1565, the firſt day
of Auguſte.

Figure 7. Title page of *Chronicle* by Thomas Lanquet, 1565

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